1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



723 military power of Coorgs with their lack of certain rituals and their somewhat catholic dietary. It is interesting to note that Shri N. Chinnappa considers the account of the origin of Coorgs given in the Kāvēri Myth to be a true, historical account. He, however, mentions that the mentions that the majority of Coorgs regard themselves as Kshatriyas and not as Ugras.[1]

584 Coorgs seem to be a distinct community in occupation of the forested mountains of Coorg for many centuries, and with a way [177] of life of their own. But they were throughout in contact with Sanskritic Hinduism, and religious movements like Lingāyaṭism affected them considerably.

[162] There are two subdivisions among Coorgs today: the first division is 41,026 strong, while the second contains only 666 individuals, according to the 1941 Census. Members of the latter division are called Amma Koḍagas, or Amma Coorgs, and they are highly Brahminized in their customs and ritual. They are vegetar- [291] ians and teetotallers, and nowadays they constitute an endogamous unit. Like the Brahmins they wear the sacred thread and observe • [769] annual *shrāddhas* or ancestor-feasts at which only vegetarian food is offered to the dead ancestors.

584 It is said that Amma Coorgs are the descendants of a Coorg man 173 and a Brahmin girl of Wynāḍ, daughter of one Tāyikāṭ Tambiran, 551 who expelled his daughter from his home as she attained puberty before marriage. (Formerly, among Brahmins, it was regarded as both sinful and shameful to have in the house an unmarried girl who had attained puberty.) This girl married a Coorg, and her descendants came to be known as Amma Coorgs (*amma* = mother), and they observed the customs of their mother. The name of an [104] Amma Coorg man has the suffix '*amma*' even though '*amma*' means 'mother', and is normally a suffix to a woman's name in certain parts of south India. In Coorg, a woman's name has the suffix '*avva*' which is the same as '*amma*', and a man's name has the suffix '*appa*' which means 'father'. It is said that formerly Amma Coorgs, who were concentrated in south Coorg, used to claim kinship with a similar group of people in Wynāḍ.

584 In the last few years of the reign of the last Rāja of Coorg, Amma 173 Coorgs claimed to be 'Kāvēri Brahmins', the descendants of the Brahmin disciples of the sage Agastya, husband of Kāvēri, before the latter flowed away as a river. The disciples twitted the master

[1] *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, pp. 19–20.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



compatible. But not all Coorgs have horoscopes, and marriages are frequently arranged without resorting to the Kaṇiya astrologer.

Coorgs formerly resorted to the Kaṇiya on every conceivable occasion. If an ox strayed, or if someone was ill in the house, the Kaniya was consulted. It was believed that he was able to tell, by consulting the planets, whether the strayed ox would return and whether the patient would recover. Sometimes he suggested the performance of some rite which would enable, for instance, the ox which had strayed to return home and the patient to recover. Perhaps a minor deity or spirit like Guḷika, or an ancestral spirit, was annoyed because it had not received the necessary attention from the members of the particular joint family. The Kaṇiya would then suggest the performance of appropriate propitiatory ritual.

The Baṇṇa and Paṇika are two low castes, originally from Malabar, who are very similar to each other and who actually perform the ritual which the Kaṇiya prescribes for his Coorg client. These two castes stand in a relation similar to the one in which the dispensing chemist stands to the doctor in the Western world. The Kaṇiya says, for instance, that the ancestors of his client are angry because they have not been propitiated for a long time, and he suggests the performance of the *kāraṇava téré* which is an elaborate propitiation of ancestors lasting over a day. The Baṇṇa (or Paṇika) actually performs the elaborate ancestor-propitiation at which the ancestors of the Coorg joint family possess the Baṇṇa oracle.[1]

Each Baṇṇa family serves a group of villages which they are under an obligation to serve. Besides ancestor-propitiation and other occasions when their services are wanted by families, Baṇṇas play very important parts at the festivals of village-deities where they are oracles, dancers, and cutters of the sacrificial animals.

Coorgs come into contact with the blacksmith, carpenter, and goldsmith usually in non-ritual contexts. The blacksmith and carpenter make the agricultural implements and domestic articles, and also help in building the massive houses of Coorgs. Some of the articles made by them, like the bier and palanquin, are used on ritual occasions.

The goldsmith, in addition to making the gold and silver orna-

[1] Richter's *Manual of Coorg*, pp. 169–70, contains an example of the kind of service which the Kaṇiya performed with the aid of the Baṇṇa.

prevails between the higher castes and Poleyas. For instance, Poleyas may not come out of their huts during the first eighteen days of the biennial festival of the deity Kētrappa at Bēngūr. It is believed that they will suffer some misfortune if they come out and see the festival-priests (*kāvukāras*) going about their sacred work.

Quite the opposite attitude prevails towards Poleyas at the festival of the Bhadrakāḷi of Kunda. The Poleya oracles have many duties at the festival, though they are not permitted to enter the temple of Bhadrakāḷi. They may not touch a high caste person, but they have the right of barring anyone from entering the temple. They stopped me presumably because they considered my dress—I was wearing a suit—improper, and they let me in only after a Coorg friend had explained who I was.

Ritual occasions might either emphasize the structural cleavages that normally exist between high and low castes, or they might tend to minimize them. The former leads, among other things, to the exclusion of the lower castes from ritual, while the latter leads to their inclusion. But inclusion does not mean that structural distance is abolished totally for the duration of the ritual occasion. What happens may be more accurately described by stating that certain individuals belonging to the low castes have ritual roles which place them temporarily in a superior position *vis-à-vis* the high castes.

At an ancestor-propitiation in a Coorg house, a Baṇṇa acts as oracle: he is possessed by each of the ancestor-spirits in turn, and while the possession lasts, he is identified with the particular ancestor possessing him. As the temporary vehicle of the spirit of an ancestor he is entitled to say and do things which he normally would not dream of saying and doing. As ancestor, he might censure the head of the joint family for not attending to his duties properly.

Nowadays young Coorgs who are sceptical about their traditional beliefs tend to see the Baṇṇa oracle at an ancestor-propitiation as an actor playing several roles in a play, and not as the vehicle of the spirits of their ancestors. A young Coorg told me that he had seen a Baṇṇa oracle saluting a big official while he was alleged to be possessed by an ancestor-spirit, and this was proof to him of the fact that all possessions were just make-believe and not real.

Another Coorg youth told me that while he was witnessing an ancestor-propitiation at a friend's house, the Baṇṇa oracle, address-

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



ing him, said '*bā kunyi*' (come, child). My informant, incensed at being called a 'child' by a low-caste Baṇṇa promptly slapped him. The term 'child' is normally used by an elder towards a youth, but only an elder of the same or equivalent or superior caste is entitled to this privilege, and not an elder of a low caste. My informant regarded the oracle as a Baṇṇa, and not as the ancestor of a friend: he had projected the normal structure into the ritual context. Needless to say he did not believe that a Coorg ancestor possessed a Baṇṇa oracle at an ancestor-propitiation.

The Baṇṇa normally occupies a low position in the hierarchy, but the fact that he is the master of the complicated technique of ancestor-propitiation, and that he is possessed by these spirits during the propitiation, temporarily put him in a high position. The contemporary decline of belief in ancestor-spirits, as well as the increasing lack of appeal of the mode of propitiation adopted by the Baṇṇa, have tended to confine him to the position normally occupied by him in the caste structure.

The Brahmin occupies the highest position in the hierarchy and is also the master of a highly complicated ritual technique. But in spite of this there is frequently a certain inconsistency between the positions occupied by him in ritual and secular contexts respectively. In secular affairs power is actually possessed by the man who has wealth and a large following, whatever his caste might be. But even he has to accord the Brahmin the highest place in ritual contexts. The complex relation prevailing between a wealthy and powerful Shūdra Hindu and his poor Brahmin priest comes to mind: the Brahmin is in the Shūdra's pay and protection, but still he has to be respected as a Brahmin and especially in ritual contexts. Where the Brahmin priest is also a scholar or holy man there does not seem to be any inconsistency between his ritual and secular roles.

## V

Caste has a tendency to stress horizontal ties. It unites members of the same caste living in different villages and distinguishes them from other castes in the same village. It is extremely unlike the village community in which members of different castes are united by certain common values and are marked off from other villages. The existence of feuds between villages in the past

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



instance of Kaiyandira Appayya who saved the honour of his *nāḍ* and its temple by defeating and killing the fighter Kullachenda Chondu. A grateful *nāḍ* decreed that none, not even elders to Appayya, may address him by name. He was not permitted to salute an elder by touching the latter's feet. He was also prohibited from doing a number of things which ordinary Coorgs did, as, for instance, wearing the black Coorg gown (only the white gown is sacred), ploughing, and eating bamboo-shoots.

At the harvest festival the astrologer may choose a young boy to perform the rite of cutting the sheaves. Such a boy is put into a position of ritual respect till the festival is over. He wears a white gown and he may not be touched till he has brought the severed sheaves home. Further, he is not permitted to salute an elder till the ritual is over. In other words the accordance of extreme respect to him necessitates the endowment of seniority for the duration of the ritual.

## VIII

The Coorg *okka* seems to be stronger and more sharply structured than the joint family elsewhere in south India, with the possible exception of the matrilineal *tarwāḍ* of the Nāyars, and the patrilineal *illam* of the Nambūdris. Every *okka* has an ancestral house (*ain mané*) built on the ancestral estate. Formerly, most of the members of the *okka* lived in the ancestral house, but nowadays only one or two segments inhabit it, while the rest are scattered all over Coorg and, occasionally, all over India. All the members of the *okka* gather together only on certain occasions, such as the marriage or death of a member, the harvest festival, the festival of the local village-deity, and the periodical ancestor-propitiation.

The ancestral house and estate are accorded respect, and it is usual to have ancestor-shrines (*kaimaḍa*) or ancestor-platforms (*kāraṇava taré*) near the ancestral house. Coorgs, even those who are living away from the ancestral house, have some attachment towards it, and this expresses itself in having marriages and ancestor-propitiations performed there in preference to anywhere else. Also, a Coorg prefers to be buried after death in his ancestral burial-ground which is a corner of the ancestral estate used for disposal of the dead members of the *okka*.

The ancestral house is usually a substantial building of stone and

I:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



of marriageable age marries a younger brother of her dead husband. Even if she does not do so, she stays in her husband's *okka* looking after the children. She goes out of her conjugal *okka* only if she marries a member of a different *okka*.

All the members of an *okka* are descended from a common ancestor. The spirits of the dead ancestors (*kāraṇavas*) are regarded with great reverence and propitiated periodically. It is believed that they continue to take an interest in the affairs of the *okka*. They expect the surviving members to look after the property and interests of the *okka*, to observe the rules of the moral code, and to show piety towards the various deities and themselves. They have the power to reward those who are pious and to punish with disease and misfortune those who are impious.

The eldest male member of the most senior agnatic branch is the head (*koruvukāra* or *paṭṭédāra*) of the *okka* whose properties he looks after and whose affairs he administers. The younger male members are called *kikkararu* and they have to obey the head in all matters concerning the *okka* as a whole. The head of the *okka* is usually also the eldest male member of it, and this union of headship and seniority in the same person results in his enjoying a great amount of power in domestic matters. Personal qualities such as hard work, sobriety, chastity, piety towards manes and gods, unselfishness and impartiality increase the headman's powers.

The headman's powers are balanced by his duties: he has to see that the expenses of the household are met, the members of the *okka* do not quarrel with each other, the ancestral lands are properly cultivated, and so on. He has always to weigh in his own mind how every act of his is regarded by the adult men in the *okka*. It is not known whether formerly every *okka* had a council composed of the adult men in it, but it is known definitely that when a headman proved himself very incompetent all the adult men in the *okka* met together and proceeded to elect a new headman. In the last seventy years the Karavanḍa *okka* twice elected new headmen to replace the existing ones. The right to replace an old but incompetent headman with a young and competent man is sanctioned by the Coorg saw (*paḷanjol* = old saying), '*ariyuvavanē periyavan*', which means 'the wisest is the eldest'. We call attention here to the equation of wisdom with seniority, an equation which is used even in replacing an old man by a young one.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



796 778 occasions like a marriage or an ancestor-propitiation, then the house is purified after their departure.

783 [841] The sacredness or ritual purity of the ancestral house was better preserved by the fact that a woman was not allowed to stay within it during her periods. Such a woman is in a defiled condition and defilement is contagious. It also cuts off the person affected by it from normal participation in social life.

841 Every ancestral house has an outhouse called *ālé poré* in which a woman stayed for three days during her periods. She attained normal ritual status only on the fourth day after taking a bath. During her periods she had to avoid going near people and objects in a condition of normal ritual status.

761 783 The death of even an unrelated adult in the house defiles it and the members of the particular household. After the corpse is removed, both the house and the members of the household have to be purified.

778 788 Certain parts of the ancestral house are more sacred than the others. The central hall is very sacred. In the western wall of the central hall is a niche in which burns an earthen or metal lamp. The container is filled with oil, and there is a cotton wick, one end of which comes through the lamp's lip while the rest trails in the oil held by the container. The wick is lit just beyond the lip, and [823] the lamp burns with the lip facing east, the sacred direction. This lamp is called *nellakki boḷuk* (central-hall lamp). It is lit every morning and evening by a woman of the house who salutes it after lighting it. It will be referred to as wall-lamp throughout this book.

[354] A bell-metal lamp, hung from the ceiling of the central hall, is a common sight in Coorg houses. It is called *tūg boḷuk* or hanging lamp, and it is saluted on all ritual occasions. Shri K. J. Chengappa considers the wall-lamp to be the more ancient and more sacred of the two lamps.

778 769 The south-western room (*kanni kōmbaṛé kōṇé*) and the kitchen (*umbaḷa manė*) are very sacred parts of the ancestral house. The south-western direction is a sacred direction, and the south-western pillar (*kanni kamba*) in the central court of a quadrangular house receives ritual respect. On certain occasions like an ancestor-propitiation, a lamp is lit in the south-western room. The kitchen is sacred as food is cooked there: food ought to be cooked in a pure place and care is taken to see that impure persons and objects do not get into the kitchen. Sometimes the periodical offerings of food

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



to dead ancestors, which are made in every Coorg house, are made in the kitchen alone instead of in the ancestor-shrine or anywhere else.

There are two types of houses in Coorg, one which has an open quadrangle in the middle and the other in which there is no such open quadrangle. In the former type, the four corners of the open quadrangle are supported by four pillars, and four planks (*aimaras*) connect the four pillars at a height of about 2½ feet from the ground. These planks are regarded as sacred: none may step across them, and no woman may sit on one of them.

Planks are affixed to the top of the parapet wall in the veranda. One of these planks is called the 'ancestors' plank' (*kāraṇavaṇda aimara*), and it is regarded as sacred. None may sleep on it. I have heard that anyone sleeping on the 'ancestors' plank' in the house of the Karavaṇda *okka* is thrown down to the floor by the spirits of the ancestors.

Women very rarely visit the veranda (*kaiyālé*), and when they visit it they may not sit on one of the planks there. Nor are they allowed to sit on the planks in the central hall, though very old women occasionally take the liberty of doing so when the senior males are away. On the second day of marriage the bride sits on a plank in the veranda of the groom's house, and this is part of the ritual of admitting her into her husband's house.

At some distance from the main building is a shrine (*kaimaḍa*) devoted to the worship of the ancestors. During the periodical ancestor-propitiations (*kāraṇava téré*), small figurines representing the ancestors are kept in the shrine and worshipped. During festivals, a lamp is lit in the shrine, and cooked food is placed before the lamp.

*Kaimaḍas* or ancestor-shrines seem to be a recent phenomenon, and before they became popular the dead ancestors were represented by unhewn stones fixed in earthen platforms which were built round the trunks of milk-exuding trees. These platforms were called '*kāraṇava taré*' or 'ancestors' platform'. Even today in Kiggaṭnāḍ there are only ancestor-platforms and no ancestor-*shrines*.

Like the ancestors, cobra-deities are represented by unhewn stones[1] and fixed in platforms built round the trunks of milk-exuding trees. The vegetation growing near a cobra-platform is

[1] Minor deities like Pūda and Guḷika are also represented by similar stones, and occasionally found alongside stones representing cobra-deities.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



Unlike birth and death, menses do not affect the entire *okka*. They only affect the particular woman, but the important point to note is that she is required to avoid touching other members of the *okka* and abstain from going near the sacred places on the ancestral estate. The safety and well-being of the *okka* will be jeopardized if she does not observe these restrictions.

It was seen that the concepts of ritual purity and impurity are very intimately related to permanent features of the social structure like caste and *okka*, and later on it will be seen that they are also related to the village, but these concepts also occur in certain non-structural contexts. A man, irrespective of the caste to which he belongs, is in a condition of ritual purity while praying or sacrificing to an ancestor or deity. He attains this ritual purity by the performance of a series of ritual actions like taking a bath and wearing ritually pure clothes. He comes into contact with an ancestor or deity when he is praying or making a sacrifice, and such contact requires that he should be in a condition of ritual purity. This principle is carried even into ritual mourning: mourners making an offering of food to the spirit of the departed person are in a condition of extreme ritual purity while they do it, though their general ritual condition till the conclusion of mourning is *tiké*, an extreme form of pollution.

## II

Bodily emissions and waste matter are ritually impure. Sexual intercourse resulting in the production of certain fluids from the bodies of both the partners is prohibited while a person is in a ritually pure condition: the festival-priests at the festival of Kĕtrappa have to observe continence during the twenty-one days of the biennial festival. In order to ensure that they do observe this rule they are required to sleep in the outer veranda which women do not normally enter.

A person who is in a ritually pure condition may not answer a call of nature. He becomes impure if he does so. Spittle is also ritually impure. This is so all over India, especially among the upper castes. A person may not touch his tongue or teeth with his fingers, and should he do so, he has to wash his hands. Elders come down heavily on a child who puts his finger into his mouth. A person is required specially to avoid putting his finger into his mouth while cooking or serving food.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



with a condition of ritual purity. It is obvious that in the above instances physical dirt has been identified with ritual impurity. Purification consists in taking a bath and wearing pure clothes. Dirt, then, is seen as ritual impurity, and cleanliness as ritual purity. It is necessary, however, to stress that they are ritual and not natural states.

Birth and death both result in ritual impurity for the entire household for several days. This ritual impurity will not disappear even if the impure person has a dozen baths a day. But, once the prescribed period is over, the individual attains his normal ritual status after a bath. It is necessary to stress that ritual purity is fundamentally different from cleanliness, though they overlap frequently. A simple association of ritual purity with cleanliness, and ritual impurity with dirtiness, would be a neat arrangement, but it would falsify the facts. One comes across ritually pure robes which are very dirty, and snow-white clothes which are ritually impure.

A corpse is ritually impure and contact with it results in pollution. The crow, which is a scavenger bird, and is everywhere associated with death, is also impure. The spirits of dead ancestors assume the forms of crows on certain ritual occasions when they are propitiated. The conclusion of funeral rites is marked everywhere by the offer of balls of rice to the dead man's spirit. These balls are kept either on the roof of the house or on the ground at some distance from the house. If the crows fall to these balls soon, it is believed that the dead man is satisfied. Delay in the arrival of the crows indicates that the dead man is dissatisfied.

If the crows perch on a roof and caw, the death of someone under that roof is presaged. A man who sees two crows mating will die soon after unless he sends a false message announcing his death to his kinsmen. Nowadays it is not unusual for a person who has seen two crows mating to send a telegram announcing his death to his kinsmen.[1] The mating of crows means their increase, and the man who sees it is likely to die. The way he can counteract this is by announcing his death as soon as he has seen the crows mate. The ends of justice are met by such an announcement.

If a crow's droppings fall on a person, he or she will have to dip in a tank or river a thousand times. This is extremely inconvenient,

[1] Needless to say, this causes the unfortunate kinsfolk a considerable amount of worry and suffering.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



765 783 mourners attains partial freedom from mourning after he has offered rice mixed with *ghī*, curd, and plantain to the spirit of the departed person. The food is carried on a plantain leaf to the sacrificial post, where it is placed to be eaten by crows. As each of them comes into the house from the sacrificial post the family friend gives him (or her) a few betel leaves and areca-nut. The mourner chews the leaves and nut for a while, and then takes the chewed stuff out of his mouth and throws it on the roof. The chewing of the leaves and nut on the eleventh day is one of the ritual acts symbolizing the end of mourning.

On the *māda* day curried meat, rice, arrack, water, and betel leaves and areca-nut are offered to the dead person's spirit. A plantain leaf on which some curried meat and rice are heaped is placed at each of the three spots where the corpse was rested *en route* to the burial-ground. At the burial-ground itself the surviving spouse and two other mourners sprinkle water on the spot where the dead person was buried or cremated. Above the spot where the corpse's head rests are kept three leaves, each containing curried meat, and rice, and three leaf-cups (*chaḷḷé*) containing arrack, water, and betel and nut respectively. Each of the mourners takes a betel leaf and nut from the leaf-cup in which they are kept, and chews them.

769 782 Food is offered to the dead ancestors of the *okka* at the periodical ancestor-propitiations. It is also offered to them as a body on the last days of Taurus and Cancer, and on the tenth of Libra. Besides, at every festival celebrated in the house, food is offered to the ancestors before the members of the household sit down to their meal.

The idea of offering food and drink to the dead person has a very important place in funeral ritual. The departed ancestors of the *okka* are remembered constantly, and food and drink are offered to them. They are also saluted and prayed to every day.

## IX

78% 783 A village is in a condition of ritual purity during the festival of the main deity of the village, a festival which usually lasts nine or eleven days, and sometimes even twenty-one days. No woman in her periods may stay in Bēngūr village during the festival of Kētrappa. She has to leave the village at once and may return only

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



# V

# THE CULT OF THE *OKKA*

## I

THE *okka* or the patrilineal and patrilocal joint family is the basic group among Coorgs. It is impossible to imagine a Coorg apart from the *okka* of which he is a member. It affects his life at every point and colours all his relations with the outside world. People who do not belong to an *okka* have no social existence at all, and the elders always bring pressure on the parties concerned to see that children born out of wedlock obtain membership in their father's or mother's *okka*. 596

Membership of an *okka* is acquired by birth, and the outside world always identifies a man with his *okka*. His association with his *okka* does not cease even after death, because he then becomes one of a body of apotheosized ancestors (*kāraṇava*) who are believed to look after the *okka* of which they were members when alive. The ancestors are worshipped, and offerings of food and drink (*bhāraṇi*) are occasionally made to them. [769]

Formerly the boys in an *okka*, all sons of agnatically related males, grazed the *okka's* cattle together, hunted birds, and played games. When they grew up all of them jointly looked after the ancestral estate under the guidance of the head of the *okka*. [857]

Membership of an *okka* determines to a very large extent the choice of a spouse. First of all, marital relations are forbidden between members of the same *okka*. Where agnation overflows the *okka*, the taboo extends to agnatic relatives who are not members of the *okka*. Again, children of sisters may not intermarry. 596 582

The ancestral, immovable property of an *okka* was formerly regarded as impartible. It usually descended from one generation of agnatically related males to another without being split up in the process. Partition did, however, occur when every adult member of the *okka* wanted it. But such cases were unusual—at least that is what one is told. Both the difficulty of partition and the preference for leviratic unions added to the strength of the *okka*. 596 428

Offices like the headmanship of a village or *nāḍ* or temple were 596 622

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



lead to the elders having an argument, an argument which might later split the *okka*. Another proverb tells us that 'children's play leads to the *okka's* ruin'.

Marriage is very nearly universal among Coorgs, and bachelors and spinsters are very rare indeed. A man's social personality is fully developed only when he has married and become a father, and consequently a bachelor is regarded as one who is not fully developed.

It is believed that a bachelor dies with many unsatisfied desires in his heart. While a gold coin is placed in the mouth of the corpse of a married man, a bitter fruit is kept in the mouth of a bachelor's corpse. A bachelor's ghost is regarded as mischievous, and the ghost of a bachelor-warrior as even more mischievous.

During the periodical ancestor-propitiations in a Coorg *okka*, songs are sung recounting the deeds of each ancestor. The name of a bachelor-ancestor is omitted from such a song unless he had proved an exceptional success in life, or had died while fighting in battle. Such exceptional qualifications are not, however, required from a married ancestor. A bachelor's personality is normally incomplete, and only the achievement of exceptional social importance can outweigh this fact.

Sanskritic Hinduism prescribes marriage for every adult. And only a married man may perform certain important rites.[1] A man and his wife constitute a single spiritual entity, and a wife shares in the spiritual merit acquired by her husband. Sanskritic Hinduism also enjoins on the wife the duty of effacing herself completely for her husband.

The strength of the husband–wife bond and the subservience of the wife to the husband express themselves in ritual. When a Coorg couple bathe in the source of the river Kāvēri during the Kāvēri Festival, the ends of their garments are tied together: Hindus in every part of India observe this custom when they are bathing in a sacred river or tank.

Until recent years a Coorg bride and groom never sat together for the performance of *mūrta*. *Mūrta* was performed separately for the groom and bride in their respective houses on the first day of

[1] A Brahmin friend of mine married soon after the lapse of the required period of a year after the death of his father because the performance of certain rites like the periodical offerings to dead ancestors and the worship of the deities traditionally worshipped by his family required him to be married. He was the eldest son of his father.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



593 bond. It is obvious that among Coorgs, Sanskritic Hinduism has
589 had such a strengthening effect and has contributed to subordinating the wife to her husband.

## XIV

596 At any given moment of time the *okka* is made up of a group of agnatically related males descended from a common ancestor, and their wives and children. When the older members of the *okka* die the younger members take their places. The dynamic element in the *okka* consists in the younger members succeeding to the positions left vacant by the death of the older members. The *okka* may be looked upon as a certain configuration of persons bound together by agnatic and affinal ties, and this configuration remains more or less constant over a period of time. The generation-depth of an *okka* might expand by a birth, or contract by a death, a segment may cling on or split off, but in the main there is a certain constancy of configuration which makes it an *okka*. The members of an *okka* come and go, but the *okka* goes on for ever. They are like people on an escalator, those on the bottom stairs moving gradually up to the top and finally disappearing.

An *okka* not only looks forward to the future but also stretches back into the past. Each *okka* has a distinct tradition with which its living members are acquainted. The 'house song' (*mané pāṭ*) sung at the harvest festival and ancestor-propitiation enables the younger members to learn the 'history' of the *okka*.

596 The dead ancestor of a Coorg *okka* is called *kāraṇava*. *Kāraṇa*
769 in Sanskrit means, among other things, 'the cause, instrument, origin, principle, the cause of being, a father'.[1] All the ancestors are not of the same rank: the founder of the *okka* has a higher status than the others. He is called *mūla purusha* (original man) or *ādi guru* (first preceptor), or *ādi kāraṇava* (first ancestor), and his higher status is reflected in the fact that at the periodical ancestor-propitiations a pig must be sacrificed to him, while to the other ancestors a fowl will do.[2] Also the Baṇṇa oracle dons the upper part of his *téré* equipment in the Founder's honour. For the others

[1] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit–English Dictionary*, p. 274.

[2] Pigs are also usually sacrificed to bachelor-ancestors who died a violent death, and to elderly males who died subsequent to the performance of the previous ancestor-propitiation. But elderly women who died after the performance of the previous ancestor-propitiation are offered only fowl.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



he wears only the lower part, which covers him below the waist like a skirt. The Founder is reverenced more than the other ancestors. But sometimes the Founder[1] is outshone in importance by one of his descendants who was a famous fighter, or a commander of the Rāja's armies, or one of the Rāja's ministers, or a famous magician, or was noted for his piety. The Founder has a start over the other ancestors, but this start does not prevail against a very powerful descendant. Thus a Coorg carries the social importance which he achieves for himself into the world of his ancestors.

People who die on the battlefield, or who die a violent death, become *biras*, and *biras* are regarded as more powerful than other ancestors. The Karavaṇḍa, Biddaṇḍa, and Kaliyāṭaṇḍa *okkas* have separate shrines for *biras* called *bira kōṭé*.[2]

A man who is killed by a tiger or panther becomes a 'tiger spirit' (*nari pūda*), and at the ancestor-propitiation the Baṇṇa oracle paints his face yellow and marks it with black stripes or spots just before he is possessed by the 'tiger spirit'.

The wife of an ancestor is called a *kāraṇachchi* or *sōḍalachchi* or *toḍapijji*. It is believed that ancestresses are particularly liable to possess children, another instance of the Coorg belief in the strength of the bond which binds a mother to her children.

Every ancestral house has some place for the worship of the ancestors of the *okka*. This might be a separate shrine called *kaimaḍa*, or a low, earthen platform (*kāraṇava taré*) built round the trunk of a milk-exuding tree. The *kaimaḍa* is a single-room shrine usually facing east, the sacred direction. When an ancestor-propitiation (*kāraṇava téré*) is performed, wooden figurines representing each of the ancestors, or crude figures embossed on sheets of copper or silver, or gold, or even slabs of stone with figures sculptured on it, are kept before a lamp lighted in the ancestor-shrine. The Paṭṭamāḍa *okka* perform an ancestor-propitiation whenever an elder dies, and on this occasion they have wooden

[1] The Founder is usually a man, but in certain exceptional cases the honour may fall on a woman. In a certain *okka* in Nālknāḍ the men were all slaughtered in a fight over 160 years ago, and the only survivor was a pregnant woman who fled to the shrine of Pāyūrappa in Malabar. This lady gave birth to a son and returned later to her conjugal *okka* in Nālknāḍ. She is regarded as the Founder of this *okka*, and is propitiated annually at the end of the harvest festival.

[2] *Bira* is a corruption of the Sanskrit *vīra*, which means a 'hero'. In the Kannaḍa country memorial stones called *Iragallu* were formerly erected for heroes dying in battle.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



representations of ancestors made which they deposit in the river Kāvēri at the end of the propitiation. Sometimes personal possessions of the ancestors such as walking-sticks or the small Coorg sword called *pichè katti* are kept in the shrine during the ancestor-propitiation.

Ordinarily the ancestor-shrine does not contain sculptured images, or unhewn stones, representing the ancestors of the *okka*. But during an ancestor-propitiation wooden or other figurines representing ancestors might be kept in the ancestor-shrine. In those parts of Coorg where there are no ancestor-shrines, every house has an earthen platform built round the trunk of a milk-exuding tree, and a rough, unhewn stone embedded in the platform stands for all the ancestors of the *okka* collectively. An unhewn stone embedded in an earthen platform might also stand for a deity like Pūda, Guḷika, Kētrappa, and Nāta (cobra-deity).[1]

Some Coorgs consider that the ancestor-shrine or platform is built over the grave of the Founder of the *okka*, and that the cobra-platform is built at a spot where a cobra breathed its last. There is no evidence to support either of these views.

Ancestor-platforms are the rule in Kiggaṭnāḍ in south-east Coorg. It has been mentioned that Kiggaṭnāḍ has a great deal in common with Kannaḍa culture, and contrasts with Nālknāḍ and Kaḍiyetnāḍ in the south-west which are influenced by Malabar. The Baṇṇas and Paṇikas, masters of the technique of ancestor-propitiation in a Coorg house, are both Malayāḷam-speaking castes and their influence normally does not penetrate as far east as Kiggaṭnāḍ. The elaborate propitiation of ancestors, with the Baṇṇas or Paṇikas acting as oracles of the dead ancestors, does not prevail in Kiggaṭnāḍ: in the latter area propitiation is restricted to the offer of meat and liquor.

Ancestor-shrines or *kaimaḍas* are found in Coorg to the south-west of Mercara, but they are far from universal. Moegling, writing in 1855, tells us that only 'seven of the Armēri [village near Vīrarājpēṭ] houses have regular little temples where *kōla* or *bhāraṇi* is performed'.[2] Even today several prosperous and well-

[1] All over south India village-deities like Māri are frequently represented by rough unhewn stones. The Coorg instance is only a part of a wider phenomenon spreading over south India, but there are other features which link up Coorg especially with Malabar and South Canara.

[2] *Coorg Memoirs*, p. 62.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



known *okkas* such as the Koḷandēra, Maṇḍepaṇḍa, Maneyapaṇḍa, and Koravaṇḍa have no ancestor-shrines.

Originally, odd stones embedded in earthen platforms built round the trunks of trees seem to have represented the ancestors everywhere in Coorg Proper, but later the ancestor-shrine seems to have replaced the earthen platforms in certain houses. The richer Coorgs then seem to have increasingly taken to such shrines: Moegling writes, 'those who cannot afford to build a *kaimaḍa* make a sort of mud bank for the purpose called *kōṭa* under a tree in the fields where the family's first house stood'.[1] It is likely that the possession or lack of an ancestor-shrine soon came to indicate, in certain areas, the economic and social position of an *okka*.

The next step in the elaboration of the *kaimaḍa*-complex was the building of special shrines for ancestors who died on the battle-field. Yet another step was taken when a sculptured image representing an ancestor or an ancestor's benefactor was placed in the ancestor-shrine. For instance, the chieftain Achchu Nāyaka was helped by the Kannaḍa ruler of Piriyāpaṭṇa, Nanjunḍa Arasu (*c.* 1670), to regain his chieftaincy. The grateful Achchu Nāyaka built a shrine in which sculptured images of himself and his benefactor were placed.

In the ancestral house of the Kōḍanḍa house in Kaḍanga Marūr village there are two tombs built over the graves of two ancestors who attained to very high positions in the service of the Rājas. These tombs have been built just outside the ancestor-shrine, and are crowned with figures of the Nandi Bull, the 'vehicle' of Shiva. Tombs, and especially tombs crowned with figures of the Nandi Bull, are very popular among the Lingāyaṭs of south India. Coorgs who were in the employment of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas borrowed the customs, manners, and ritual of their rulers.

During festivals like harvest festival, and at marriage, a little meat curry and rice are offered on a plantain leaf to the ancestors. A leaf-cup of arrack is also kept on the plantain leaf. The ancestors consume the essence of the offering and thereby consecrate it. All over Hindu India food, or any article which has been offered to a deity, is called *prasāda*, and worshippers have to partake of the *prasāda*. Food which is offered to a deity is later distributed among the worshippers, who eat it. Where flowers which have been placed

[1] Ibid., pp. 62–68. By 'family's first house' Moegling obviously means the ancestral house.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



on the image of the deity are given to a worshipper, he or she sticks them in his hair, or keeps them in his pockets. When such flowers wither, they are either put in a well or pond or on a tree. They are not thrown where people are likely to tread on them.

Quite apart from festivals and other occasions when the dishes cooked in the house are offered to the ancestors before the members themselves partake of them, there are special occasions when the ancestors have to be offered food and drink, and these occasions are the last days (*changrāndi*) of the months of Taurus and Cancer, and the tenth of Libra.

The propitiation of ancestors with food (invariably non-vegetarian) and liquor and lights is called *kāraṇava bhāraṇi*. There is also a more elaborate propitiation of ancestors called *kāraṇava téré* or *kāraṇava kōla*, at which Baṇṇas or Paṇikas officiate as priests and oracles.

This elaborate propitiation of ancestors is prevalent everywhere except Kiggaṭnāḍ. Also there is no uniform rule as to when the propitiation should be performed: each *okka* seems to follow a different rule in this matter. For instance, the Mātandra *okka* perform it annually in May, while the Paṭṭamāḍa *okka* perform it once every few years, while some other *okkas* perform it before a wedding in the house and still others perform it some time after the death of an elderly male. In the last case the object of the propitiation is to convert the spirit of the dead person into a *kāraṇava*. An old saw has it, 'The eleventh should be added to the group of ten'.

The propitiation is invariably performed at the ancestral house. The latter is whitewashed, colour-washed, and the floors washed with a solution of cow-dung. Nowadays the head of that branch of the *okka* which is resident in the ancestral house writes a letter to the heads of the branches living elsewhere, and to other relatives, informing them of the date of the propitiation. On the appointed day they all gather together at the ancestral house, bringing with them their votive offerings of fowl or pig or both. A daughter of the house who has married out might bring with her a votive animal to a *kāraṇava* of her natal *okka*.

The propitiation begins after sundown. Everyone takes a bath, and the head of the house dresses himself in a waist-cloth and shoulder-cloth. If he is very pious he even observes a fast.

The Baṇṇas perform the propitiatory ritual in the central hall of the ancestral house. One of the Baṇṇas acts as oracle (*tiruvaḷkāra*

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



or *boiḷchapāḍ*) while another, or two others, beat drums and sing the house song of the propitiating *okka*. The song gives us an account of the life of each ancestor and ancestress. The oracle wears an elaborate equipment called *téré* which consists of two bamboo frames covered with red cloths. One of the two frames covers the lower part of the oracle's body, and the other, the upper part. The lower part is really like a skirt, while the upper part, which is flat and tapers towards the top, is tied to the back by means of a stout cord going round the waist. The *téré* is decorated with tufts and frills of the pith of *pāmbaḷé*.

The Baṇṇa oracle mimics the ancestor who has possessed him. If the ancestor possessing him had a game leg, the oracle limps about, and when an ancestress is possessing him he ties a scarf round his head in the way a woman ties it.

The possession has the quality of drama. Sometimes a certain incident which occurred in the past is restaged during the possession. For instance, *A* of *X okka* was in the service of one of the Rājas, and he was put to death by the Rāja's order. It is alleged that this was due to the machinations of *B* of *Y okka*. Now, when an ancestor-propitiation is performed at *X okka*, the Baṇṇa oracle who is possessed by *A* shouts, 'I was betrayed by *B* of *Y*. I have descendants to proclaim my name. *B* of *Y* has none.' The *okka Y* was about to become extinct through the absence of male heirs when a girl of the *okka Y* was married in the *okka parijé* fashion to a boy of *okka Z*. *Okka Y* no doubt continues to exist today, but through the descendants of a female member and not through an unbroken line of agnatic kindred. Agnatic continuity has more prestige than continuity otherwise achieved. Of course, continuity, however achieved, is better than cessation.[1]

*A* of *X* was induced to enter the Rāja's service by his father, who was a renowned magician feared by all on the Wynāḍ side of Taṇḍra river. At the ancestor-propitiation mentioned above, the Baṇṇa possessed by the son (*A* of *X*) accuses the Baṇṇa possessed by the father of being the real cause of the former's death, for, but for the father's pressure, the son would no thave entered the service of the Rāja. 'Father' and 'son' start fighting with swords, and blood is

[1] This incident makes it clear that a grave offence against the ethical code results in the ending of the offender's *okka*. It is surprising to note, especially in view of the existence of special customary devices like *okka parijé* and *makka parijé*, that continuity through a female descendant may be regarded as ineffective.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



drawn. The descendants of the *X okka* who are looking on intervene and stop the fight.

Sometimes the oracle, possessed by a particular ancestor, inquires into the state of the ancestral estate. He asks the members of the *okka* to take him to the paddy-fields, and he might even sharply criticize them for not paying sufficient attention to the ancestral estate. He might inquire after the welfare of the members of the *okka*. It is said that sometimes these oracles point out treasure troves.

The living members ask the oracle questions concerning the various matters affecting them. 'Will my child recover from illness?' 'Why is a son not born to me?' And so on.

Before a particular ancestor leaves him, the oracle goes to the ancestor-shrine, where one of his party sacrifices a fowl or pig. Liquor, parched rice, coconut, and plantains are all offered to the ancestor represented by the oracle. The latter eats the parched rice and drinks the liquor, after which the ancestor who is possessing him leaves him. He gets ready to impersonate the next ancestor named by the head of the *okka*.

The last ancestor to possess the oracle is the Founder, in whose honour the oracle wears the upper part of his *téré* equipment. A pig is usually sacrificed to the Founder. The head of the *okka* requests the Founder to bless the descendants.

On the next morning the sacrificed animals are cooked and the entire village is invited to dinner. Thus an ancestor-propitiation is also an occasion for the expression of the solidarity of the village.

The Baṇṇas get as their perquisites the heads of the animals sacrificed, provisions, some cooked meat, and also a little cash. This is in addition to the fixed amount of paddy they are paid annually at harvest. The Baṇṇas in a village serve the Coorg *okkas* in that village or *nāḍ* during ancestor-propitiations and other occasions when their services are required, and in return for this they receive a certain amount of paddy annually. The relationship between a Baṇṇa family and a Coorg *okka* has a certain continuity and members of the former are well acquainted with the history of the latter. The Baṇṇa family almost becomes the repository of the traditions and history of the Coorg *okkas* it serves.

The Baṇṇa oracle is identified with the ancestor who is possessing him, and his acts and words are considered to be the ancestor's acts and words. In fact, an oracle is always identified with the

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



ancestor or deity whose mouthpiece he is believed to be. But unbelievers are quite common among Coorgs, and an old man of sixty-five had not seen a single ancestor-propitiation, which he described as 'nonsense imported from Malabar'.[1] A sub-inspector of police considered both ancestor-propitiation and the worship of village-deities to be 'superstition'. Several educated Coorgs have told me they do not believe in ancestors and village-deities. The worship of fierce deities with pigs and arrack does not find favour with many, both Sanskritic and Western influences being opposed to it. Such opposition to propitiation of ancestors and village-deities frequently goes with a preference for Vēdānta of a kind. But still one comes across elders like Kuṭṭayya who tell you, 'they (the people) continue to disbelieve in ancestors till they get a knock on the head'. Repeated failure or illness makes a man go back to his old beliefs. Sometimes the Kaṇiya astrologer who is consulted says that the trouble is due to the failure to propitiate ancestors.

Sometimes a man or woman is possessed by an ancestor or ancestress, and while possessed, he or she might demand merely an offering of meat and liquor, or a full-fledged ancestor-propitiation with oracles, sacrifice of animals, &c. A person is identified with the spirit or deity possessing him, and consequently the demands of the person possessed by an ancestor are treated as the demands of the ancestor who is possessing him.

The offer of meat and liquor to ancestors as well as the elaborate ancestor-propitiation are non-Brahminical and non-Sanskritic modes of propitiation involving the offering of non-vegetarian food and liquor. Also no Brahmin priests are present and no Sanskrit *mantras* are chanted. The non-Sanskritic modes of propitiation of ancestors contrast with the Sanskritic which consists in the offer of *piṇḍa*, or balls of rice or rice-flour, under the guidance of a Brahmin priest.

Amma Coorgs, the highly Brahminized section of Coorgs, do not make offerings of curried meat and liquor to their ancestors. Instead, on a certain day in the year they offer balls of rice to the ancestors, and this resembles the annual propitiation of ancestors with purely vegetarian offerings and Sanskrit *mantras*, which prevails among Brahmins and other high castes all over India.

Both the Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic modes of propitiation

[1] This particular person was very irreligious. He had not even gone on pilgrimage to the source of the Kāvēri.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



exist cheek by jowl as far as the bulk of Coorgs are concerned. The more inquiring of the men see the two modes of propitiation as mutually inconsistent, but such an inconsistency does not seriously trouble anyone. All over India Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic customs, often involving beliefs regarded as mutually inconsistent, are found existing together. Usually, the non-Sanskritic custom either drops out or is transformed to suit the Sanskritic custom, but this process takes a very long time. There is also no doubt, however, that the non-Sanskritic customs of every caste as well as those of sects and peripheral groups are continually being Sanskritized. This has been happening for over 2,000 years all over India.

Splinter groups like Amma Coorgs are decades, if not centuries, in advance of their parent-groups: the former have solved their problem by Sanskritizing their customs entirely while the latter are more conservative. Sometimes the splinter groups are so far in advance of their neighbours that they incur the wrath of everyone. They might even be ostracized by the other castes.

## XV

It has already been mentioned that every *okka* has a *nāta*, which is a platform where unhewn stones representing cobra-deities are embedded. Vegetation is allowed to grow freely around this platform. There is a ban on women approaching the cobra-platform during their periods as the cobra-deities are extremely sensitive to impurity of any sort. Though women no longer observe seclusion during their periods, they are even now afraid of going near the cobra-platform because of the belief that its defilement would result in some misfortune to their *okka*. The angered cobra-deity may be roused to bite a member. This is clearly seen in the ancient saw, 'The deceit of women is very great, O, Snake, please do not bite us' (*pommakkaḍa māya marmāya pāmbē, ariyaté tiriyaté koriyaté pāmbē*): a member prays to the cobra-deity not to bite even though it has been angered by women going near the cobra-platform during their periods. Women are likely to conceal such violations from others, especially males. If they are frank enough to tell what they have done, purificatory and expiatory rites could be performed to appease the cobra-deity.

Among Hindus all over India, cobras and the ant-hills in which

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



779 touches Sanskritic ritual idiom at several points. There is also the
634 classic instance of Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa (alias Ajjappa), the fighter, magician, and doctor, whose apotheosized spirit is nowadays worshipped by Coorgs in every part of Coorg.

769 The story of Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa is not entirely fictitious, but
173 has a basis of fact. He was a descendant of the Kaliyāṭ *okka* in Kunjala village in Nālknāḍ, and very early in his life he seems to have gone to Malabar to study medicine and magic. After his return to Kunjala he became famous for his magical powers: he was said to have under his control the 'ten spirits of the underworld' (*pattu kūṭ pātāḷa*) which did what he wanted them to do. He was also a fighter, and he actually died while fighting the soldiers of Karaṇembāhu, the chief of Bhāgamanḍlanāḍ at that time. His friend and companion Boḷtu committed suicide after Ponnappa's death.

The spirit of Ponnappa caused headache in everyone. A famous magician was sent for and he had the spirits of Ponnappa and Boḷtu and the 'ten spirits of the underworld' imprisoned in a conch-shell. The conch-shell was buried under a stone in Malabar. But some time later an accident released the spirits from the conch-shell, and subsequently the spirits of Ponnappa and Boḷtu, and their common friend Kuṭṭapāḷa-Māyila, all found shelter in the well-known temple of Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) of Makki.

[791] Ponnappa and his companions have found shelter in several temples in south-west Coorg. There are Ponnappa's oracles everywhere in Coorg Proper, but none may practise as an oracle unless he has been authorized by the chief oracle of Ponnappa in Makki.

[783] People in every part of Coorg vow to make offerings to Ponnappa when they are suffering from bodily aches. It is believed that Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) has conferred on Ponnappa the power to cure aches. There is an annual festival in honour of Ponnappa at the Sārtāvu temple in Makki.

769 Educated Coorgs point out that Ponnappa is not a deity, but
776 only the very powerful spirit of a great magician and doctor who, in addition, died while fighting. The spirit of Ponnappa was, to begin with, guilty of anti-social conduct, giving headaches to everyone. That was the reason for its imprisonment in a conch-shell. After its release, it sought and obtained the protection of Sārtāvu of Makki. It then no more caused headaches, but cured them instead. It was subordinated to a well-known deity before being worshipped.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



769 776 It is important to remember that Sārtāvu is Ayyappa, the son of Shiva and Vishṇu in the form of Mōhini. The lawless spirit of a magician-cum-fighter is tamed by making it subordinate to a deity who has been completely Sanskritized.

## XII

182 584 782 The hierarchical idea inherent in caste expresses itself in a variety of ways at the festival of a village-deity. For instance, at the Kētrappa festival in Bēngūr, the fowls brought as offerings to the deity by members of the higher castes are decapitated by a Coorg, and the pigs brought by them, by a Paṇika. But neither the Coorg nor the Paṇika decapitates the animals brought by the lower castes like the Mēda and Poleya. The animals brought by the latter are decapitated by a Mēda.

Usually, the man who sacrifices the animal gets its head as his perquisite. The animal is then divided into two halves, one half going to the owner and the other to the village. Each *okka* in the village gets a share in the half which goes to the village. But the animals offered by Mēdas and Poleyas are not divided in this manner, nor do they get a share in the animals brought by the higher castes. That is to say, in this context, the village does not include the Mēda and Poleya. Nor does it include the Brahmin who does not sacrifice animals to deities.

182 584 773 The deities Kākkōṭ Achchayya, and Akkavva, according to the folksong, leave Malabar to seek shelter in Coorg. After crossing into Coorg they meet a Poleya deity, Kāryappa, whom they take as their servant. The three deities then go to Kākkōṭ village where they see some children playing. Kākkōṭ Achchayya and Akkavva possess Coorg children, whereas Kāryappa possesses a Poleya boy. In this instance, the caste-idiom is completely projected into mythology and religion.

776 182 The deities Kētrappa (m.) and Koḍli Povvedi (f.) are both recipients of offerings of non-vegetarian dishes and liquor. Coorgs explain this by saying that both the deities lost their caste on coming into Coorg. In fact there is an incident in the Kētrappa song giving an account of the change in the dietetic habits of the deity: while returning to Bēngūr from Malabar, Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa, who was possessed by Kētrappa, put everyone to sleep while he climbed a *bainé* (caryota urens) tree and drank toddy from

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



destructive of sin (*pāpa*). Bathing in the Kāvēri on certain days such as the first of Libra and Shivarātri is specially productive of *puṇya*.

The Kāvēri is called '*dakshiṇa ganga*' or 'southern Ganges', and the Kāvēri myth (see Appendix) tells us that waters of the Ganges and other sacred rivers and seas are present in the source of the river on the first of Libra at the moment of the river's birth. The faithful believe that there is an underground passage connecting the source of the river with the Ganges at Benares. Pilgrims to the Tala Kāvēri, like pilgrims to Benares, return with the water of the sacred river in sealed copper pots. This water is used for ritual purification and drinking on certain days. Coorg pilgrims sprinkle the holy water on members of their *okka*, and on the house, granary, and cattle.

Offerings of balls of rice-flour are made to dead relatives on the banks of the Kāvēri; and the ends of the garments of the husband and wife are tied together while bathing in the river and in the larger of the two springs of Tala Kāvēri. Both these concepts are common to Hindus all over India.

The Kāvēri Myth, whose authorship appears to be Brahminical, has the Ganges Myth for its model. As is well known, the Ganges meets the Jumna at Allahabād, and to this, Hindu mythology adds a third river, the Saraswati, which is said to flow underground and join unseen the first two rivers. The confluence of the Ganges, Jumna, and the mythical Saraswati is called '*triveṇi sangama*' or 'union of three rivers'.

At Bhāgamanḍla, about three miles from the source of the Kāvēri, it meets the Kanaké. But to this the Kāvēri Myth adds a third river, the Sujyoti, which is said to flow underground and join the first two.

There is a myth about practically every river in India, and in every one of these myths some Sanskritic deities, and sages and characters from the epics and the *purāṇas*, take part. Each myth in time becomes a part of the vast corpus of Hindu mythology. Each myth makes sacred certain features of local geography by associating deities, and characters from the epics and *purāṇas*, with them. The myths abound in inconsistencies which, however, do not bother the bulk of the Hindus.

On certain occasions Coorg women are required to worship the domestic well, and this is referred to as '*ganga pūja*'. A similar

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



The entire rice-field (*varga*) is cut up into a number of small rectangular plots ridged up on all the four sides. Each plot (*tēva*) is referred to by a distinct name, and one of these plots is regarded as the main plot and it has the same name as the entire rice-field. The traditional association between an *okka* and its ancestral estate is symbolized in the custom of burying the umbilical cord of the eldest son of the head of the *okka* in the main plot of the ancestral rice-field. The eldest son is the one who is going to become the head of the *okka* in course of time, and as head of the *okka* he will have to look after the ancestral rice-field. The main plot stands for the entire rice-field, and it is entirely proper that the umbilical cord of the future head of the *okka* should be buried in the main plot. It may be recalled, in this connexion, that during the periodical ancestor-propitiation, the Baṇṇa oracle, possessed by an ancestor, may demand to be shown round the rice-field in order to see for himself whether it is looked after properly. Thus a Coorg continues to take an interest in the affairs of his *okka* even after his death, which means that he continues to care for the rice-field on which the prosperity and happiness of the *okka* and thus, indirectly, of the total society depends.

Every stage of the cultivation of the rice crop is marked by ritual. The main plot of the ancestral rice-field is ritually ploughed on the first of Aries, the beginning of the new year according to the solar calendar. Either the head of the *okka*, or a younger member who is considered to be specially suitable by the astrologer, ritually ploughs the main plot during an auspicious period of time. Regular ploughing of the rice-fields commences only after the ritual ploughing on New Year's Day.

Paddy is sown in the nurseries at an auspicious period of time. When the plants are 10–12 inches high, they are transferred to the various plots in the rice-fields. The plucking of the young plants and their transplantation are both begun during auspicious periods. The transplantation of the young plants is a highly complicated task requiring the co-ordination of the work of a number of people. It is especially so if the estate is a big one.

The Kāvēri festival includes a rite called *bottu* (lit., fear) and this is intended to protect the growing crop, the woods on the estate, and the domestic well.

One of the most important calendar festivals of Coorgs is the *putri* (lit., new rice) when the paddy sheaves are ritually cut.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



are identified with Vishṇu. This is no doubt inconsistent, but Sanskritization frequently produces inconsistencies.

Pannangālatammé is only one of several instances of deities losing their caste. Kētrappa (m.) and Povvedi (f.) of Bēngūr lost their caste too. The case of Povvedi of Bēngūr is interesting as her namesake in Balmāvṭi, a village three miles away, retains her caste, has a Brahmin priest, and accepts only offerings of fruit and flowers. The ubiquity of the caste idiom deserves notice: the deities of the lowest castes like Poleyas and Mēdas are not worshipped by the higher castes, and these deities bear the same relation to the deities of the higher castes which the lower castes themselves bear to the higher. The habits of some deities are occasionally explained by reference to the caste idiom. A deity who accepts animal-sacrifice and liquor has lost his original high caste; and sometimes such an explanation enables a Sanskritic deity to become the deity of castes which consume meat and liquor.

## III

Marriage is a preferred condition among Coorgs, and a married man has a higher ritual and social status than a bachelor. A bachelor's social personality is not regarded as fully developed.

In the case of women, however, the contrast is not so much between spinsters and married women as between the latter and widows. A widow wears only white clothes, and these clothes may not have a coloured border. The clothes and ornaments worn by a married woman may not be worn by a widow. Certain ornaments which are associated with a married woman, like black glass bangles, necklace of black glass beads, and rolls of palm leaves worn as ear-ornaments, have become symbols of the married state. As such they receive ritual respect.

It is usual for young Coorg widows to remarry, and a remarried widow has a higher social and ritual status than a widow who does not remarry, though she does not have the same status as a woman whose first and only husband is alive.

Coorgs do not differentiate between a married woman and widow as thoroughly as, for instance, the Brahmins. Amongst the latter marriage and patriliny are bound up with certain theological ideas: a woman's husband is her god, and a son not only continues the lineage but releases his ancestors from a particular kind of hell

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



to which people without sons go. Widowhood is the result of sins committed in a previous incarnation. Formerly, a widow's head was shaved, and she was not allowed to remarry. A married woman is regarded as an auspicious person, and articles associated with her, like flowers, vermilion, turmeric powder, glass bangles, and the marriage badge (*tāli*), are regarded as sacred and worshipped on certain occasions. A widow is more or less completely excluded from ritual.

It is necessary to note that the Coorg attitude to the widow is similar to the Brahmin's, though the differentiation between married woman and widow is not as thoroughgoing as among the Brahmin. But the similarity does make possible greater Sanskritization subsequently.

A married woman is a preferred type of person among Coorgs. Motherhood is a preferred condition and formerly the mother of ten children was entitled to have *mangala* performed in her honour.

Other types of preferred persons are the strong man who is also skilled in athletic sports, dancing, and fighting, and the magician who is usually also a doctor. Frequently several preferred traits were combined in the same man, making him doubly or trebly preferred. The preference expresses itself in custom and ritual.

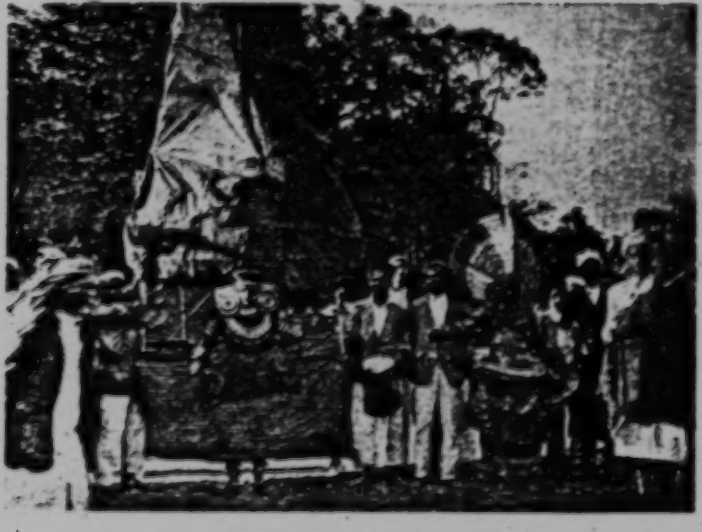
It might be said that the general orientation of Coorg culture is martial. Frequently, customs and rites which appear to be taken over from neighbouring cultures are given a martial twist in Coorg. Competitive games like shooting at a coconut, and fighting for the possession of a coconut, and a collective hunt are introduced into every festival.

The harvest festival and the 'festival of arms' are both very significant in this connexion. It has been pointed out that the most important rites of the harvest festival are the cutting of sheaves, the eating of new rice grains, and the expression of a wish for plenty, but around these central rites are organized dancing and singing, competitive games, and a collective hunt. The incidental elements of the festival take up ten or eleven days while the main elements do not take up more than a day.

The completion of transplantation marks the end of a very arduous period in the cultivation of rice. Thereafter both the men and the oxen are relatively free till the beginning of harvesting. The 'festival of arms' comes at the end of the field season, and at this festival a Coorg resumes his contact with his weapons which

346

A Coorg Temple (Keymode)



796
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A Ghost Mask (Kernakole)

[facing p. 51]

[P 51]

## CHAPTER IX

## COORG (Contd.)

THE worship of the demons and ancestor-spirits constitutes the religion of the Coorgs. They have been influenced by contact with the Malayali, Canarese, Brahmanical and Lingayat superstitions. The Malayalis have made themselves indispensable at their demon and ancestor worship. The Tulus are their Pujaris. The worship of Mariamman (the smallpox demon) was introduced by the Mysoreans. The domiciled Brahmans of Coorg have succeeded in the introduction of Mahadeva and Subrahmania, and have temples erected and idols set up for worship. The Lingayats or Sivachars are also endeavouring to introduce the worship of Linga. Since the days of Vira Rajendra, Christianity was introduced in Coorg, and there is a Roman Catholic Settlement with a fine church at Virajpet, but Christianity has not made much headway in Coorg. 771 776 177 [797]

### Ancestor-Worship

The ancestor-worship of the Coorgs is based on the belief that the spirits of the dead hover inside and outside the Coorg dwellings and cause endless trouble in the absence of adequate propitiation. Each Coorg house has a *Kaimatta* (a building close at hand) under a tree in the fields or in the yard close to the house. This is a raised mud platform where carved stones representing the images of their ancestors are placed. Sacrifices of fowls and pigs are made to them. Sometimes the Coorgs become possessed of the spirits of the dead and express all their desires when they are sumptuously fed and given drink. The spirits of ancestors are believed to hand over their locality and become angry now and then. A male ghost is called *Karana*, and a female one *Sodalachi* or *Karanchi*. 769 [346] [782] [787]

It is a belief among the Coorgs that ghosts cause trouble, and females even more so. The Sodalachis are ever inclined to smite children with sickness and sometimes even the adult males and females of the house. In fact they are ever inclined to do harm. With a view to appease their wrath, rice, arrack, milk and other delicacies are offered on various occasions during the year to them. Once a month, a fowl or two are offered at the *Kaimatta* to please them. In such cases a member of the community becomes possessed. He then puts off his head dress and walks in front of the house in a state of trance. While in this condition, the members of the family appear before him to represent their grievances. He makes some incoherent utterances which are believed to be emanations from one of the ancestors who has not been propitiated with offerings. At once he is treated to meat and drink, and neighbours are allowed to come in and put questions to the possessed. These gifts are called *Karana Baruna*. 769 782 787

796 The Coorgs perform another ceremony called ghost-mask (*karanakola*)
● 769 with the object of finding out the particular wishes of the ghosts. It is
787 performed every second or third year and occasionally also every year. For this, the services of a Malayali performer, a Panikkan or Benna, are requisitioned. At night he puts on, one after the other, five or more different costumes to represent the number of ancestors especially remembered at the
[534] time. Arrayed in these different costumes, he dances to the accompaniment of a drum beaten by his companions and behaves as if he were possessed by
[782] the Coorg ghosts. After each kola or mask, he leaves the house with a fowl, a coconut, fried rice and other eatables, and some arrack, and offers them in the courtyard to a particular ghost. Various questions are put to him by the members of the family and by the neighbours while he is in a state of trance. The food given him during the trance is called *Karana Barani*. The masks having been finished, a pin especially fattened for the purpose is decapitated in front of the *Kaimatta* and then taken up to be given to the performer. The rest of the carcase and bodies of the fowls
[782] decapitated are taken to the house. In the absence of a *Kaimatta*, the pig offering takes place at the *Karanakotta*. Women also behave likewise, when possessed by an ancestral spirit. While thus affected, they roll on the ground, but they do not give utterance to oracular responses. Some-
[785] times sorcerers, Coorgs or aliens, are invited to exorcise the ghosts. With the recitations of certain formulae in loud tones, they resort to flagellation. If it proves ineffectual, offerings are given.

### Village Gods

776 Tradition has it that human sacrifices were offered in former times to
782 secure the blessings of Grama Devatas, Mariamma, Durga, and Bhadrakali, who are supposed to protect the villages or nads from all evil influences. These deities have their annual feasts among the Coorgs, but they pay special attention to Ajappa, Kaliat Ajappa, and Kuttamma in Kiggatnad, whose shrine is annually visited with gifts.

Every forest ground has its presiding deity to which an annual sacrifice of pork and cakes is offered. If it is not propitiated, the *Kadevaru*, the tending god, will withdraw his favour, and sickness and death among cattle will ensue. Besides, there are extensive forests called Devarukadu, which are untrodden by human foot and reserved for the abodes or hunting grounds of deified heroic ancestors.

### Serpent Worship

77
825 Traces of serpent worship or tree worship are found in Coorg. The *Natas* or spots on which cobras have finished their course of terrestrial life are the place of solemn ceremonies. To prevent any human being from setting foot on the hallowed spot, it is marked by a little stone enclosure.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5



wife) is worshipped once a year, when pigs are sacrificed.— This is, of course, an abomination to the Brahmans.

**b. Ancestral and Demon worship.**

The principal place in Coorg-idolatry is held by the worship of the dead. Every family offers a sacrifice to its departed ancestors once a year, during the two months preceding the monsoon. A fowl, generally a cock, is killed, upon a stone devoted to the Káranas, somewhere in the jungle-land belonging to the family estate. (Kárana is the name given to the heads of families whether living or dead.) Seven of the Arméri houses, however, have little temples where *Kóla* or *Bárani* is annually performed. Kóla is the name of a sacrifice connected with demoniacal dancing, Bárani, of a sacrifice to the dead without the dances. These temples consecrated to the worship of the dead are called *Keimada*. Mada is the Coorg word for Matha, a religious building. The meaning of the word "kei" may possibly stand for Kárana, or simply denote: near, at hand, private. The Púját'is (officiating priests) employed in these ceremonies are Malayálas long since naturalized in Coorg, Panika, Maleya, Banna men, subordinate to the Kanyas, the hereditary Malayálam astrologers of Coorg. At the Kólas they beat drums and sing verses in commemoration of the ancestors. Those who are to be possessed by the spirits, wear masks and buckle on swords. As they sing of the deceased father, or grandfather, or other ancestor, his spirit seizes them and they speak as his mouthpieces. To each spirit a sacrifice is offered, a cock and a bottle of spirits, which his representative drinks, thus fortifying himself for future exertion during the night. The ceremony begins after sunset, in the presence of the whole village-community, and is continued until morning. About seven or eight o'clock in the morning pigs are sacrificed. The head of one of the pigs belongs to the performers, the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5



rest is cooked in the house, to which the Keimada is attached, and is consumed by the whole community with a plentiful addition of liquor. At noon the ceremonies are completed. When Bárani only is performed, one of the strange priests does the whole work, but in the Kólas several are engaged. A peculiar kind of illumination is essential to both Kóla and Bárani. Some plantain trees are split into thin strips. These are placed on the ground in three or four layers, crossing at right angles, and forming a kind of network. Twenty-four or forty-eight or ninety-six such strips of split plantain-stems are used. Where they cross one another, spikes of a reed, called Wotté, are driven through them into the ground. At the upper end of these spikes, which are two or three feet high, pieces of cloth are fastened, twisted into wicks and well moistened with oil. When the whole net is thus arranged, two layers of strips are raised, one to near the top of the spikes, the other a foot lower. Between the crossings, plantain-leaf-pieces are placed, upon which quantities of rice, plain and fried, of arecanut, jaggory, etc. are put. When the ceremony begins, a few of the oiled wicks are lighted. At the pig-sacrifice all are kindled, and the whole square blazes up like a table of fire, without however consuming the offerings placed on the leaves, which are the perquisite of the performers.

Besides, every family has some spot on the estate, in a retired part of the jungle-land, where a sacrifice of a fowl is offered every year to the departed by the living members of the house. No strangers are permitted to attend on these occasions. A stone placed on a rough mound serves as altar.

On the day of *Sivarâtri* a religious ceremony takes place in Mercara at the Rajahs' tombs, that of Dodda-Virájender being transformed into a temple, where the spirit of the hero is worshipped with the honors due to the saint or rather a god, for Virájender has been deified by the Lingaites. On

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5



the occasion a large concourse of people, chiefly Siváchárics, collect round the tombs, to pay their respects; or, at any rate, to participate in the liberal charity, dispensed at the time from the Government Treasury.

The people of Coorg have also great faith in a certain *Kaliatanda Ponnappa* or simply *Kaliat-Achchappa*, the spirit of a Malayálam man, who came to Coorg, many generations ago, was naturalized, married a Coorg-woman, and established himself at Nálknád. He was a great magician, and long the dread of the Coorgs. At last he was shot near the Cutchéri of Nálknád taluq. Since his death his spirit has possessed men, who give themselves to the strange arts that he practised. A similar worship is still maintained in honor of Achanaik in Chickamundúru in Kiggatnád.

Higher even than Kaliat-Achchappa, in the estimation of all Coorg, stands a certain female devil, at Kutta, called *Kuttadamma*. Kutta lies at the borders of the Wynád. Kuttadamma has no temple. The sanctuary is under a tree in the forest. The Púját is a young man, the only person left of the family, which has engaged in this worship. Large sums of money are annually sent thither by people from all parts of Coorg. Many vows are paid to Kuttadamma in behalf of sick people or of the dead. And whether a sick person recover or die, the sum vowed for his recovery must be paid; or woe to the living! Liberal presents are also given to the man in charge of Kuttadamma, to engage her services against enemies, who, they say, are distressed or destroyed altogether by the demon, in answer to the prayers of her priest.

Each Báne (parcel of grass or forest-ground) has a presiding divinity, to which an annual sacrifice of pork and cakes is offered. If this sacrifice be not made, or not properly performed, the *Kádévaru* (the tending god, i. e. the god watching over the cattle) will withdraw his favour, and sickness and death among the cattle will ensue.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5



211 figures are in grotesque attitudes, but remarkably well grouped
532 and closely resemble the sculptured reliefs of Halibeed.
172 In the top compartment there is occasionally a lamp and a Linga both on pedestals, and these insignia, together with the Basavas in the third frame, evidently denote the heroes as Linga worshippers and aliens from the present Coorgs, who know nothing about them; the Canarese Gaudas, in whose countries they are chiefly found, claim them as relics of their ancestors and annually present before these stones offerings of cakes and fruit. The dresses of all the figures represented are not in the Coorg but in the costume of Hindus of the scantiest clothing. Col. Wilks in his *History of Mysore* Vol. I. p. 15. explains the sculptured representations in the [795] three compartments thus: "The lowest describes the battle in which the hero was slain; the centre compartment represents him in the act of being conveyed to heaven between two celestial nymphs: in the uppermost he has arrived at the regions of bliss and is delineated as seated before the peculiar emblem of his religion—generally the lingum—for the practice of erecting monuments seems chiefly to belong to the sect of Siva."

211 In north and north-east Coorg similar stones, but with
178 simple and coarse sculptural figures are still erected by re-
766 lations of influential men who met with a violent death or were carried away by small-pox and cholera.

211 With the Coorgs it is the custom, to keep images of men
•769 and women in Coorg costume chased in silver-plates in the *Keimatta*, which is a small square building near the house, in remembrance of their ancestors whose departed spirits are [326] there annually worshipped. These plates which are of little artistic merit are made by the country goldsmiths. Near the [775] *Kannana house*, on that fine hill slope opposite the Central [648] School in Mercara, there is a stone-slab with a picture in relief of a Coorg warrior. The stone is erected in the paddy

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5



fields in remembrance of the (Dalavai) military chief *Kannana Doddeya*, who fell in an engagement with the forces of Hyder Ali near Kájúr-Bágalu in North Coorg in 1767. Before setting out on this expedition he said to the king Muddarájah: "I have twice returned from defeating the Ma-"homedans and made Salam to the Rájah, but this time I shall "not return." The celebrated Coorg hero Appachoo Mandana fell in the same battle. When, after the death of Hyder Ali, Tippu Sultan invaded Coorg, he burnt Kannana's house and hanged 24 members of his family, and the ruins are still visible. A silver plate 3 inches by 2 inches large, with a relief picture similar to that on the stone is preserved by the family in honour of their renowned ancestor.

*Shásana-kallu.* In some localities viz. in the temple yard at Bhágamandala, in the dévastána at Pálúr, in the ruined temple in Nallúr in Hatgatnád of Kiggatnád-taluq and at the Central School in Mercara (brought from Fraserpet) there are large stone-slabs of granite with inscriptions in peculiar characters that resemble the oldest forms of the Dravidian alphabets, but have not yet been deciphered. They are supposed to be *Shásana-kallu* i. e. memorial stones or records of Government grants. Their inscriptions might perhaps throw some light on the early history of the places in which the stones have been found. In the Mercara Treasury there are three copper plates 8 inches by 3 each, held together by a copper ring, the ends of which are united by a seal representing an elephant about one inch in length from head to tail. The 2 outer plates are inscribed on one side only, the inner plate on both sides. The inscription which numbers 1304 letters seems to be "old Kanada, but many of the letters strikingly resembling Lat and old Pali forms," according to a statement by the Bombay Asiatic Society. The text is said to relate to a grant of land to certain Mysore Brahmins in the villages of Uyambal and Badaneguppe. The date corresponds

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60
Coorg AW5

# PERSONAL NAMES OF THE TODAS[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU

IN societies organized in sibs, the sib unit sometimes has a name which is borne by all its members. Personal names often have no relation to the sib unit, but either are drawn from a common stock which may be utilized indiscriminately by all the sibs, or are invented according to patterns which are distinct from the pattern of sib-division. The latter type is seen in the system employed by the Plains Indians of North America. The former resembles the family naming system employed normally in European or European-derived cultures, where it is not combined with a sib-division except in such groups as the Scottish clans.

§1. An example of sib-division combined with utilization of a common stock of personal names is seen in the Coorgs of South India. Among these people the patrilineal sibs have each a name which is borne by every member of the sib. Personal names are drawn from a rather small stock, consisting of some sixty names for men and a slightly smaller number for women. A male or an unmarried female is identified by the sib-name, the father's personal name, and the individual's personal name, in this order. A married female bears her husband's sib-name, his personal name, and her own personal name. There seems to be no tendency for personal names to be linked with particular sibs. A slight tendency is found to preserve the use of particular personal names within the family (as distinguished from the sib) by giving to a child the name of some dead ancestor within the family whose memory it is desired to perpetuate. It is doubtful, however, whether this tendency has even as much force as the similar tendency in European or American society; a notable difference between the two is that the Coorgs do not give such names during the lifetime of the earlier bearer of the name, since this would cause a certain amount of confusion within the family.

§2. Among the Todas, a pastoral tribe of the Nilgiris in South India, the method of giving names is different from both those outlined above. The individual does not bear a name which is common to all members of his

[1] This paper represents a small part of the work which I have done on the non-literary languages of South India, under the auspices and with the financial aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935-36 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936-37. I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr David Mandelbaum, who read over the paper and made numerous helpful suggestions. The system of phonemic writing for Toda words is the same as that employed in my paper, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103-12, 1937); in that paper, *f*, *θ*, *x* should be read for *v*, *ð*, *γ* in Toda words throughout. Accent is always on the initial syllable.